

**TODAY and
TOMORROW**

The Clarion Call

LAATEST reports from India suggest Congress may accept Lord Wavell's offer but such acceptance will mean a most unfortunate set-back to the Congress. The Congress could have had from Cripps' three years ago what it is now so eager to take from Wavell. Is then the blood shed by the fighters for India's independence in pursuance of the carefully-considered rejection, by the Congress of Cripps' proposals, to go for nothing? An emphatic no can be the only answer.

Indians in East Asia, therefore, are not going to be deflected in the least from the struggle for India's freedom, by what the Congress may do in relation to Wavell's proposals. Netaji says that even if the Congress accepts the proposals, it will sooner or later have to part again with the British Raj, because it is bound to find out one of these days that Wavell's scheme is a means not to India's independence or self-government, but only to India's whole-hearted co-operation with Britain's imperialist war against Nippon. In view of this certain prospect, Indians in East Asia cannot afford to demobilise, and they are not going to.

The world situation at present affords another opportunity for Indians. True, Britain in league with her allies, has defeated Germany, but this has not made Britain a stronger power than she was before the German defeat.

One should only have to look at how Russia is using her influence over Poland, Austria, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and other East European countries to be convinced that Britain is becoming a nonentity in the European continent while Russia can do there whatever she likes. Unfortunately for Britain, Russia, far from confining her power-politics to Europe is openly coming out to take a hand in the affairs of the Near East, Middle East, and even China. All this betokens an inevitable conflict between Russian Communism and British Imperialism in the very near future.

It is folly to imagine that India today is simply helpless before the all-powerful Britain and must therefore make up with the Britishers on any terms. In simple truth, never were India's prospects of complete independence so bright as at this moment. If Syria and Lebanon could throw off her shackles by playing off the British against the French, we can do likewise. The British interference in the Levant under the pretext of world freedom has given Russia and France a right to keep an eye on the British doings in India. If at such a time, we make up with Britain without actually getting anything substantial in the way of India's self-government, we will be only foolishly depriving ourselves of the moral and material support of foreign nations.

It is on the strength of all these weighty considerations that Netaji Bose is fervently calling upon his countrymen at home and abroad to keep up the anti-British resistance, even should the Congress accept Wavell's offer. This clarion call shall not fall on deaf ears.

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Syonan Likely To Become Scene Of Bloody Fighting

People's Support Urged In Execution Of Proposed Evacuation Scheme

"Syonan is very likely to become one of the battlefields of this war and by drawing the enemy to the shores of Syonan and then giving him a crushing blow we can greatly contribute to the decisive battle that will be fought in the near future on Nippon mainland or in its vicinity".

Thus stated Lt.-Col. Shozo Nakajima, Chief Spokesman of the Imperial Nippon Forces in the Southern Regions, at his weekly press conference here yesterday dealing with the subject of the evacuation scheme outlined by the Syonan Authorities and exhorting the public to give their wholehearted support to the Authorities concerned.

Prefacing his comments on the scheme and the necessity for such a measure, with an expression of appreciation of the earnest co-operation of the various newspapers with the Authorities, Lt.-Col. Nakajima said that the present evacuation scheme reminded him of the time three years ago when the Nippon forces occupied Singapore. At that time the enemy was making vicious propaganda that, when the Nippon forces entered Singapore, they would kill and slaughter the inhabitants. By this propaganda (went on Lt.-Col. Nakajima) the enemy, of course, intended to arouse the antagonistic feelings of the people against Nipponese.

"When the Nippon forces were about to enter Johore all the white people instead of remaining and fighting fled the country leaving the inhabitants to fend for themselves. There were many local inhabitants who wanted to take to boat and go away to some other country for refuge but as they were local people they were not allowed to evacuate.

"The reasons why the Nippon Authorities here are encouraging evacuation today are in a way very parental. Looking from a broader angle I feel sure that in time to come the war would be brought nearer to Syonan-to and the defence of the island would become more difficult

(Continued on next page)

NETAJI WEEK FETE Today

Tea Party At Netaji's Bungalow At 5.30 p.m.
Drama By Rani Of Jhansi Regiment At Kokaido At 7.30 p.m.

INDIANS AT HOME URGED TO CONTINUE STRUGGLE FOR FULL INDEPENDENCE

Netaji Exhorts To Carry On Parallel Movement With Freedom Fight Here

Emphasising the determination of East Asia Indians to carry on the armed struggle against the Anglo-Americans to the last man and to the last round and simultaneously keeping the Indian issue alive as an international issue, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, in a broadcast address, exhorts Indians at home to run a parallel movement with the sole aim of continuing agitation for complete independence and preventing the Congress degenerating into a Liberal Federation by accepting Lord Wavell's proposals.

The following is the text of Netaji's radio address:

Sisters and Brothers in India! For those who believe that a compromise with the British Government, on the road to independence, will be an obstacle and a mistake, the time has come to prepare this programme for the future. To those who are outside India, it has been clear during the last few days that the Congress Working Committee has already decided to accept Lord Wavell's offer. It is but natural that those who are now trying to arrive at a compromise with the British Government, should strengthen their hands by having messages issued, and resolutions passed, by various individuals and organisations in the country, with a view to creating an impression that the country wants a compromise. But that will not deceive anyone who knows the real situation in India, and who realises that it is always difficult in our country to give open expression to extremist, or Left-Wing opinion.

Correct Leadership

The mass of the Indian people have no interest in a compromise which will benefit the British Government more than anybody else. What they want is the correct type of leadership, through which their real sentiments and wishes could be given utterance to. For those who are against a compromise and want to carry on an uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism, the task is to provide the correct leadership for the Left-Wing in the Congress and in the country. From my past experience I may say that every time after a period of intensive struggle, there is a further depletion, or de-

fection, in the ranks of Left-Wing leadership. But I have seen on every occasion, that in spite of depletion or defection in the ranks of Left-Wing leadership, the movement throws up new leaders. Consequently, I have no doubt in my mind that in the fulness of time, the Left-Wing movement in the country will produce the necessary leaders. My endeavour today will be to suggest a programme for those who will carry on an uncompromising struggle in future.

Things To Be Considered

Before I suggest such a programme, I want to consider two things. Firstly, why are so many prominent leaders anxious for a compromise while the war is still going on? Secondly, what is the programme of those who want to carry on the struggle outside India, to the best of their ability? After a consideration of these two problems, it will be easy to chalk out a plan for an uncompromising struggle inside India.

Regarding the first problem, I have no doubt that a defeatist mentality has overtaken those who, three years ago, were determined to "do or die" in the fight for India's independence. These people are convinced that the Anglo-Americans are going to win this war. Though this defeatist mentality is common to all 'compromise-wallahs' within their ranks, two groups of men may be noticed. One group which forms the majority thinks more about the internal situation in India. The members of this group think that nothing is to be gained by continuing Civil Disobedience inside India. They feel that the Congress organisation has been

(Continued on next page)

No Change Ever Contemplated In Liberation War

Merchants & Well-To-Do People Asked To Extend Unstinted Support

Testifying to the magnanimous and maximum sacrifice made by the poor in cash and kind in the cause of the Indian freedom fight, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, made a strong appeal yesterday to all Indian merchants and other well-to-do people in the community to give their all-out support unstintedly and voluntarily.

The occasion was the public meeting of local merchants convened at the Dai Toa Gek'io here last evening when Netaji addressed the gathering.

"It is the duty of Indians in East Asia to support the movement wholeheartedly, went on Netaji. No matter what happens at home, our path is quite clear. Even if the Congress accepts the Wavell proposal, it is our duty to fight to the finish. There is going to be no change in our programme.

"Indians in East Asia must show to the whole world that they can make the maximum sacrifice. I am going on a tour of Malaj shortly and I hope to see with my own eyes, what Indians in Malaj are doing at the moment.

"Indians in East Asia must give their all for the success of the movement. Able-bodied men must join the fighting forces. Total Mobilisation must be our watchword. Indians who do not come forward at this time must be ashamed of themselves.

"We have our own Government and our own army. Our cause is a sacred one. It is because of the support given by Indians here that this movement has achieved such a tremendous success and if we only carry on this struggle to the finish, success will be ours. Many poor men have come out with their all but I am surprised to find the contrary amongst the rich. Is there not one single rich man among you who can give away his all? I request you all once again to come forward voluntarily and swell the I.I.L. funds," exhorted Netaji.

MEMORIAL TO UNKNOWN AZAD HIND MARTYRS

The ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and Supreme Commander of the Azad Hind Fauj, of the Memorial to the Azad Hind Freedom Fighters who laid down their lives in the current war of Indian Independence will take place tomorrow, Sunday, July 8, at 11 a.m. opposite Tokubetu-si Padang.

This is a great occasion for Indians here to pay their homage to the martyrs of India's freedom and it is expected that they will throng in large numbers to witness the solemn ceremony.

Public are also welcome to place wreaths on the foundation of the Memorial. Those who wish to place wreaths are requested to conform to the instructions which will be given to them on the spot.

There will be only one slogan for this function:—

"Azad Hind Ke Shaheedon Ki"—"Jai"

This slogan will be led by Netaji.

NETAJI WEEK FETE Tomorrow

Laying Foundation Stone of a Memorial to Unknown Warrior of Azad Hind Fauj at 11 a.m. opposite Tokubetu-si Padang.
Mass Meeting at Johore Bahru at 6 p.m.

Syonan Likely To Become Scene Of Bloody Fighting

(Continued from previous page)

with a dense population. When the war is carried over the island there will be much misery and hardship and the ravages of war will be acutely felt. In order to lessen the misery and ravages, the local Authorities have formulated this evacuation plan," stated Lt.-Col. Nakajima.

"In order to inflict as much losses as possible on the enemy we are putting in all efforts to fortify the defences of Syonan, Malai, Sumatra and other places. At the same time we are preparing both spiritually and materially to meet the enemy when he comes to Syonan. We are not only re-affirming our determination in the spiritual sense but in the material sense, too, we are doing our best to crush the enemy when he comes here," declared Lt.-Col. Nakajima.

"As to how or in what way we would meet the enemy and crush him I will not try to predict or say anything. At least we can inflict personnel losses or bleed the enemy white on a much larger scale than what he suffered in Okinawa. Should Syonan-to become a battlefield a very intensive and ferocious battle would take place.

"If the enemy should start raiding Syonan again I think there will be more indiscriminate bombing and by this method the enemy may try to make the people become excited. At the same time should the inhabitants lose their lives or property they will also blame the Nippon forces.

"As one way of making the defences of Syonan more complete the Authorities are now encouraging the people to evacuate and hence the Authorities and others concerned are doing their best to facilitate the means of evacuation. At the same time all those who will remain in Syonan should co-operate with us and for them too the Authorities are making full preparation to facilitate their livelihood.

"The Authorities look upon those who evacuate under the scheme and those who will remain and co-operate with them in the same way in that both groups of people are offering them positive wartime co-operation.

"Of course to leave a place to which one has become accustomed long or to go to a place which is not known to one, it is something in the nature of a problem. There may be hardships and all sorts of inconveniences but we have to make sacrifices to bring this war to a successful conclusion. The Anglo-Americans, particularly Churchill and Truman, are responsible for the hardships we will be undertaking", added Lt.-Col. Nakajima.

"Once we win the war everything will be solved and all those who evacuate from Syonan now may come back after the war and will be welcomed with hearty greetings," went on the Chief Spokesman, adding that only by surmounting all hardships a Greater Syonan, a Syonan that will become the leading city in the Southern Regions, could be established and that all these hardships which are only temporary would be a sort of milestone towards victory.

Indians At Home Exhorted Uncompromising Struggle For Complete Freedom; Parallel Movement Urged

(Continued from previous page)

broken up, as a result of large-scale arrests, and as a result of the ban on the Congress organisation. A compromise with the British Government will render it possible to revive and strengthen the Congress organisation in the country once again. These people also think that while the Congress had been in the wilderness, other organisations had come to the forefront and had been trying to undermine the Congress.

Consequently, the Congress must have some power, in order to rehabilitate itself, and put down other organisations working against it, and this is possible only through compromise with the British Government. Further, there is also a feeling that if the Congress does not achieve something now, it will be difficult to go back to the status quo of three years or perhaps five years ago. The other group, which forms a minority, thinks more of the international situation. The members of this group think that if India is to play her role in the camp of the United Nations, she must come to some sort of understanding with the British Government, to enable nationalist Indians to represent India at international conferences in future.

Defeatist Mentality

Besides having a defeatist mentality, the members of these two groups have another thing in common. Both the groups think that through a compromise, they will be able to work their way towards independence.

Now, why don't I agree with this school of thought? The reasons are as follows:

Firstly, I do not share their defeatist mentality. I do not think that it is certain that the Anglo-Americans will win this war. I say this in spite of the defeat of Germany. I could give various arguments to substantiate my point of view and I have already mentioned some of them in my previous talks. The war in the Far East will, in any case, be a long and bitter one, and during the course of this war, many surprises may be in store for the world. It was Napoleon Bonaparte who said, once upon a time, that the ultimate result of a war is sometimes decided during the last five minutes.

Reuter's correspondent, Ronald G. Bedford, put out the following statement about the war in the Far East on the 5th of July. It will give some idea as to what the British themselves think about the coming campaign in East Asia. Similar statements have also been made occasionally to Americans, by American Army and Navy commanders. This is what Reuter's correspondent said:—

"A warning that unconditional surrender from the Japanese was unlikely and that the Allies would have to fight every inch of the way to the heart of Tokyo was given by Lieut.-General William Joseph Slim, Commander of the 14th Army today.

"All my experience has proved that the Japanese fight to the very last", said General Slim in an exclusive interview. "I think it very unwise to calculate on anything less than a fight to the death, and all our preparations for war with Japan must be made on this basis."

"General Slim refused to express any opinion as to the length of the time needed to finish off the Japanese in the Far East. 'I never make prophecies' he said. 'They take some explaining away when they go wrong.'"

Friends! While I maintain that it is by no means certain that the Anglo-Americans will win the coming war, I feel that the Indian people should wait and see, and, in the meantime, they should carry on the struggle, to the best of their ability.

Secondly, I am definitely of the

opinion that a compromise with the British Government will not help, but will retard the achievement of our independence. To those who doubt the truth of this statement of mine, I should say—"let us wait and see; coming events will themselves answer this."

Thirdly, among the 'compromise-wallahs' to those who are thinking too much about the internal situation in the country, I should say that this is not the time when they should think of such small things as the revival of the Congress organisation in the country. The whole world is now in the melting pot and India's fate is, to a large extent, linked up with the final issue of this war. No harm will be done if the revival of the Congress organisation is postponed for a time and if we wait and see what the final issue of this war will be. By compromising now, we may get at most 10 per cent of Swaraj. By waiting for a time, we may get Poorna Swaraj.

Fourthly, to those who are thinking of how India can play her part in future international conferences, I should like to point out that the real question is not whether Sir Ramasamy Mudaliar should represent India at the San Francisco Conference or at similar conferences—or Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The real question is—whom the Indian spokesman will represent at an international conference? Will the Indian spokesman represent a free India, or India under British rule?

According to foreign reports, Sir Ramasamy Mudaliar did very well at the San Francisco Conference so far as his individual ability was concerned. Reuter has told us that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is prepared to work under the Viceroy's leadership. This is news to me, and it is difficult to believe it. But if it be true, and if Pandit Nehru agrees to accept this new role, then I must say that so long as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, "or any other Indian leader for the matter of that" works under the Viceroy's leadership, his voice at an international conference will not be the voice of Free India.

So much about the attitude and mentality of the Congress Working Committee. Now about our programme outside India.

Issue Uncertain

I have already made it clear that the issue of the coming war in East Asia is by no means certain. No one can say that the Anglo-Americans will ultimately win this war. Japan will fight to the last and while this war is going on, many surprises may be in store for the world. Indians in East Asia have, therefore, resolved to carry on the armed struggle, to the last man and to the last round. Simultaneously they will carry on their activity in the field of international diplomacy, keeping the Indian issue alive as an international issue. It goes without saying that our hands will be considerably strengthened if, while we are carrying on the armed struggle, people at home keep up resistance to British imperialism. That will be a help to us, even if their resistance is moral in character, but even if the Congress Working Committee compromises with the British Government as it has already decided to do, we shall still continue our struggle. By doing so, we shall achieve one of two results: Either we shall force the hands of the British Government and compel it to accept the Indian demand for independence or we shall expose the hollowness of Lord Wavell's offer and compel the Congress to retrace its steps and withdraw from the Viceroy's Executive Council.

In any case, our struggle is bound to do good to the cause of India's independence. And, in any case, it can be used by our countrymen at home as a useful lever for putting

pressure on the British Government. It is clear that the present policy of the Congress Working Committee is very similar to the old policy of the moderates. The essence of that policy is—"Work for India's freedom through co-operation with Britain." While the Congress will be co-operating with the British Government in future, if the Left-Wing movement in the country is suspended, then there will be no hope for India.

On the other hand, if the Left-Wing movement is continued with energy and vigour, it will either force the British Government to yield to India's demand or it will force the Congress Working Committee to give up its policy of co-operation. Therefore, while we are continuing the armed struggle outside India and are keeping the Indian issue as an international issue, a parallel movement should be carried on inside the country. One of the aims of this parallel movement inside India should be to see to it, that as a result of co-operation with the British Government and especially in connection with Britain's war in future, the Congress does not degenerate into a Liberal Federation.

Combined Opposition

The first thing that should be done inside India is to combine all the oppositionists to Lord Wavell's offer, into some kind of a central organisation. If the efforts of all the oppositionists are pooled together, then results will be obtained more speedily and effectively.

Secondly, a persistent demand should be made on behalf of the public that the Congress Working Committee should place before the country its programme for the Central Government and for the Provincial Governments. Once that programme is produced, the country will be able to judge very easily as to how far that programme will be executed in future.

Thirdly, a strong agitation should be carried on for the release of all political prisoners of all categories—including, of course, those detained without trial. The release of political prisoners will be one of the acid tests of Lord Wavell's sincerity and the Congress should not be allowed to make any compromise on this all-important issue.

Fourthly, the public should make a persistent demand of the Congress Working Committee to tell the country, to what extent it is going to participate in Britain's Imperialist war in the Far East. It is known to everybody that the Congress Working Committee has already pledged itself to wholehearted participation in that war. But the country should insist on knowing what that wholehearted participation will mean in actual practice. In other words, how many troops will be sent out of India? How much money will India have to contribute for Britain's war in East Asia? Apart from men and money, what will India be made to contribute in the shape of war-materials for Britain's war?

Once we know how far India will be bled, for the sake of Britain's imperialist war, we shall be able to judge whether anything will be left, for India's internal reconstruction. As is well known, we have always agitated that India should not be made to sacrifice for Britain's imperialist war. Will the Congress adhere to this policy in future, or will it initiate a new policy of making voluntary sacrifices for the perpetuation of the British Empire.

Fifthly, will India be made to contribute to the U.N.R.R.A. fund, with the approval of the Congress? It is reported that India will have to contribute 15 crores to this fund. India has been bled white by British imperialism in the past, and she

"Netaji Week" Cinema Drama

The "Open Air Cinema" sponsored by the Publicity Department of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind with the help of the Eiga Haikyū Sha in connection with the third day's celebration of Netaji Week drew a bumper crowd last night. The huge crowd had a thoroughly enjoyable time and the show was voted on all hands as an unqualified success.

Netaji To Meet Gwalas Here On Monday Next

A meeting of Gwalas will be held at the I.L.L. Syonan Branch, on Monday the 9th instant, at 5 p.m. when Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose will address them.

stands in need of help from outside—and particularly from Britain, the chief exploiter. Will the Congress demand help for India's recovery especially in view of the sacrifices she has made in this war—or will the Congress pour out 15 crores of India's money as a contribution to the U.N.R.R.A. fund? Sixthly, what about India's sterling balances which have been blocked outside India? Will the Congress insist that this money should be made available to India—or will the Congress allow itself to be used as a pawn by British and American High Finance?

Seventhly, will the Congress reopen the question of India's public debt? So far, we have declared in an unambiguous manner India's demand for the re-opening of this question, but we have not been able to do anything to compel the British Government to accept India's point of view. Once the Congress accepts seats on the Viceroy's Executive Council, the excuse can no longer be put forward that the Congress is not in a position to force the hands of the British Government. Therefore the country would like to see if the Congress will take up the question of India's public debt, when it accepts power and responsibility at the centre.

Sisters and brothers at home! These are a few points for your consideration. You will have to keep up your agitation and propaganda on all these points, and you will have to insist that on each of these points, the Congress representatives, and their colleagues in the Central Government, give effect to the demand of Indian public. I must say that if we succeed in doing so, then British power in India will be reduced to a minimum. On the other hand, if they fail to force the hands of the British Government then they will become mere puppets in the hands of the Viceroy.

One thing more before I close. The responsibility of the Congress for the future policy and action of the Government of India will be very great. The Congress Working Committee will not content itself with submitting a panel of names for only those seats that have been reserved for the Congress. By submitting a full panel of names, embracing all religious groups, as well as all interests in the country, the Congress is accepting full responsibility for the Government of India in future. The Congress cannot argue, hereafter, that the panel of names submitted by it were not accepted by the Viceroy. It is up to the Congress to reject Lord Wavell's offer, if its own panel is rejected by the Viceroy.

Friends, I have finished for today. We are determined to carry on the struggle under all circumstances. It is up to you to carry on a parallel movement inside the country. If you do so, I am confident that the situation can yet be saved and that the disaster that is likely to follow a compromise with British imperialism may yet be averted. May God grant you success in your noble efforts.